

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDE-00 OES-03

FEAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00

H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 AECE-00 /090 W

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O R 141300Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 703

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0985

FROM USDEL NPT PREPCOM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA, JA

SUBJECT: JAPAN AND NPT

REF: TOKYO 1761

SUMMARY: AFTER SPURT OF OPTIMISM REGARDING JAPANESE
RATIFICATION OF NPT OCCASIONED BY RUSH TO ACHIEVE
SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT WITH IAEA TO BE SUBMITTED TO
DIET ALONG WITH TREATY, REFTEL INDICATES PENDULUM
HAS AGAIN SWUNG IN OPPOSITE DIRECTION AND DOMESTIC
POLITICAL OPPOSITION APPEARS TO BE MORE THAN GOJ IS
WILLING TO TAKE ON FOR THIS PURPOSE. FAILURE OF
JAPAN TO RATIFY NPT WOULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS
FOR FUTURE OF THIS TREATY REGIME. IF MOMENTUM BUILT
UP IN LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, CULMINATING IN REVIEW
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CONFERENCE IN MAY, SUBSIDES, IT BECOMES DOUBTFUL

WHETHER JAPAN WILL RATIFY AT ALL IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE. USDEL TO NPT PREPCOM BELIEVES VIEWS OF USG SHOULD BE PUT CLEARLY AND FORCIBLY TO JAPANESE LEADERSHIP. THERE CAN BE NO ASSURANCE THAT SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD CAUSE GOJ TO PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION BUT, IF IT DECIDES NOT TO PRESS MATTER AFTER HEARING FULL EXPLANATION OF SITUATION, THEN AT LEAST IT WILL BE MAKING DECISION ON ITS OWN AND WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION LATER, IF ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES DEVELOP, TO ARGUE THAT USG SHARES RESPONSIBILITY. END SUMMARY.

1. IF JAPAN STAYS OUT OF NPT REGIME, THIS MUST BE A SIGNIFICANT DISADVANTAGE FROM US POINT OF VIEW. FOR ONLY COUNTRY WHICH HAS SUFFERED NUCLEAR BOMB, A CLOSE ALLY OF US, WITH HIGH DEGREE OF INDUSTRIAL AND SCIENTIFIC KNOW-HOW TO CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO JOIN TREATY WHICH RESULTED IN LARGE MEASURE FROM US INITIATIVE MIGHT BE LOOKED UPON BY MUCH OF REST OF WORLD AS A BLOW TO US POLICY OR POSSIBLY EVEN A DELIBERATE US ATTEMPT TO KEEP A POWERFUL EAST ASIAN ALLY AS A POTENTIAL NUCLEAR PARTNER. THESE FACTORS WILL INTENSIFY AS OTHER COUNTRIES, NOTABLY EURATOM, RATIFY TREATY, LEAVING OUTSIDE IT PRINCIPALLY THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY ACQUIRED NUCLEAR CAPABILITY (FRANCE, CHINA AND INDIA) AND THOSE WHO WISH TO PRESERVE THIS OPTION.

2. IN CASE OF JAPAN, WE BELIEVE IT HIGHLY DOUBTFUL GOJ WOULD HAVE ANY INTENT TO PRODUCE OR ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE. PROBLEM FOR JAPAN APPEARS MORE ONE OF VERY LONG RANGE SECURITY (WHICH IN ANY EVENT PROTECTED BY WITHDRAWAL CLAUSE) PLUS SHORT RANGE COMMERCIAL FACTORS, INCLUDING AVAILABILITY OF ENRICHED URANIUM FOR FUELING REACTORS. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THIS LATTER AREA THAT MEANINGFUL APPROACH COULD BE MADE TO GOJ.

3. WHEN US REACHED LIMIT OF CONTRACTING FOR ENRICHED URANIUM FUEL LAST JUNE, THERE WERE DEMANDS FROM SOME THAT PRIORITY BE ACCORDED NPT PARTIES. THIS WAS NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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DONE, HOWEVER, AND ARGUMENT PREVAILED THAT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NON-PARTIES WOULD ONLY HAMPER NPT PROSPECTS WHILE EQUAL TREATMENT WOULD TEND TO GIVE ADVANTAGE TO NPT PROPONENTS IN COUNTRIES LIKE JAPAN WHICH WERE THOUGHT TO BE MOVING TOWARDS RATIFICATION. NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, HOWEVER, WILL SEE RENEWED DEMANDS THAT COMPENSATION BE INCREASED FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES PARTIES TO TREATY IN TERMS OF

PRIORITIES AND FINANCING FOR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR PURPOSES. US (AS WELL AS USSR AND UK) WILL FACE GROWING PRESSURES IN THESE AREAS IN YEARS AHEAD, PARTICULARLY IF THERE ARE SHORTAGES IN ENRICHED URANIUM FUEL. GOJ SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF SITUATION THAT MAY THEN ARISE.

4. WE WOULD NOT ADVOCATE WARNING OR THREATENING JAPAN WITH DIMUTION OF US COOPERATION IN PEACEFUL NUCLEAR FIELD. ON CONTRARY, SUCH COOPERATION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY REMAIN IMPORTANT AMERICAN INTEREST AND THERE WOULD BE

NO SENSE IN THREATENING TO STOP DOING SOMETHING THAT IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST. PROBLEM WOULD NOT BE ONE OF OUR OWN MAKING, BUT OBJECTIVE WORLD SITUATION IF WE CONTINUE TO PLACE HIGH VALUE ON NON-PROLIFERATION AND NPT (AS WE ASSUME US MUST) AND ARE THEN PRESSED BY NNWS TO SHOW HOW IMPORTANT NON-PROLIFERATION IS TO US BY GRANTING THEM PREFERRED STATUS BECAUSE OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF TREATY. HOWEVER MUCH WE WOULD PREFER OTHERWISE, US MAY THUS IN YEARS AHEAD FIND ITSELF INCREASINGLY INHIBITED FROM AS MUCH COOPERATION AS IT WOULD LIKE WITH NON-PARTIES. THESE INHIBITIONS MAY COME NOT ONLY FROM NNWS BUT ALSO FROM US CONGRESS IF JAPAN BECOMES IDENTIFIED WITH COUNTRIES WHICH REMAIN OUTSIDE NPT FOR REASONS OF PRESERVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS OPTION.

5. IF USG SHOULD MAKE DEMARCHE ALONG THESE LINES TO GOJ, TWO PURPOSES MIGHT BE SERVED: IF THERE REMAINS FLEXIBILITY ON LDP PART, KNOWLEDGE OF USG READING OF SITUATION MIGHT BE SIGNIFICANT; SECONDLY, IF GOJ FAILS TO RATIFY AND ADVERSE SITUATION ARISES IN THE FUTURE, USG WOULD RETAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY AND WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT BE SUBJECT TO CHARGE THAT GOJ HAD PROCEEDED UNDER MISTAKEN APPREHENSION ABOUT HOW WE SAW SITUATION. DALE

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